1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautiche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[1]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[1] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines, several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was characterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings, and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national interest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Mapuche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas. It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the government desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians. In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class. Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population throughout Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Argentina.[3]

By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colonization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866, which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reservation land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was to be sold to settlers.

[3] See Cooper, 1948:630 *et passim*; Canals Frau, 1946:781–86, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent subsidiary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.
[i.e. a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in pre-reservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The story of this creation may be told quite simply.

After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the inhabitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (cacique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as chief, rather than lonko (head of kinship group), had usually held some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebellion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental in establishing multikinship communities which had their foundation in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone looking for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation community.

The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dominant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of unrelated kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by referring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone significant subdivision, and, of course, trace descent to the original title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politically dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] See Cat. 104, P-75 – Analysis

Ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

made them a continual military threat. It was a period of incessant hostilities -- raids (malones) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns.

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crisscrossed by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *division*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *division*. South of Cautín Province *division* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *division* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarifications of this law the following year went a step further and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations *at its own discretion!*

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[9] There has consequently been a reaction to *division* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

[9] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1961, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

B:Faron E-1 (1952-1954)261 SG6 Araucanians SG6
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle divorce. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880 the Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Pressed, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the civil records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his juncíon for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given such recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley No. 4,111, June 1927, Art. 17*) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he owns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various rituals.

In large parts of Araucanía the exploration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farming colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century -- almost forty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

and political organization of the reservation Mojaache was undergoing significant change, and a new social mobility was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the pre-reservation Mojaache lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *tenka*, and that the authority of the *tenka* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *tenkas* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *tenka*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mojaache society on the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military powers, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political duties in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiments manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mojaache under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mojaache themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough on this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mojaache-white relationships for a number of reasons, one base of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and lodged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

Ts:Faron E-5 [992-1954]991 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*palongko*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension -- migration -- is no longer feasible. While dispossessed members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

621 613 794 [128] more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly) consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 613 178 [094] It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

621 613 582 178 179 [166]

12; Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *fuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who